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India Cultures Quarterly

1961 QUARTER ONE

The India Cultures Quarterly

Editor : Dr. R. D. Immanuel
Leonard Theological College
Jabalpur

Vol. 19 **First Quarter** No. 1
1961

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Editor : Dr. R. D. Immanuel

Leonard Theological College, Jabalpur, M. P., India

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THE DOCTRINE OF NAYAS

In ancient days Jain Sages made a very special study o the doctrine of truth and error. One of the results of this research is the doctrine of Nayas they gave to the world.

Perfect knowledge according to them is free from doubt, perversity and indefiniteness. But such perfect knowledge is almost impossible. The soul is impeded by passions and emotions and man is as it were shut up in his egocentric predicament. The result is his knowledge is only relative. The Jains are fond of telling the story of the five blind men that went to find out what an elephant was like. The one who felt the tail said it was like a rope. Another said it was like a pillar because he had touched only one of its feet. Similarly one of the rest said that it was like a wall and another said that it was like a fan and so on.

Their contention is that we make judgment from our own standpoint and the truth that we perceive is imperfect, that is, it is not the complete truth. In other words Jainism makes basic and fundamental the principle that truth is relative to our own standpoint.

So, knowledge is of two kinds. One is Pramana or knowledge of a thing in itself. This is like that noumenon of Kant - almost impossible for us to know because of our limitations. The other is Naya. Naya is a knowledge of a thing in its relations. It is

partial knowledge and any judgment based on partial knowledge also is called Naya. Nayas are partial truths but when this relative standpoint is taken as absolutely true then it becomes a fallacy that is called Nayabhasa.

There are seven different types of Nayas. Of these the first four are connected with meanings or objects, and they are called **arthanaya.** The remaining three relate to words and are called **shabdanaya.**

Very often we mistake the purpose or the end of an action for what it really is. The story of the stone cutters might be given as an example. Three stone cutters were breaking stones. When each one of them was asked what he was doing, one said that he was cutting stones. Another said that he was earning his livelihood. The third said that he was helping in the building of a cathedral. To the Jain none of these three people are completely correct. Each one was making a statement from his own standpoint. The last two mistook the purpose of the action. So they involved the fallacy of **naigamanaya.** This is the first of the seven Nayas. Closely connected with the idea of ends is the class concept or universals. Those who emphasise only the class or universal are also guilty of naigamanaya. Thus even the great philosopher Plato (these sages would have said) was giving only a partial truth when he said the universals were real.

The man who says that the particular alone is real grasps the truth only partially. He is seeing things from one angle. This naya was called **samgrahanaya.** The Jains accused the Buddhists of naigam because they denied the universal concept (of a supreme soul). The Vedantin also fell into samgraha according to the Jains because the Vedantin denied the particular (for instance individual souls as being ultimately unreal).

The third class of nayas was called **vyavaharanaya.** This is partial knowledge derived through particular experience. Popular ideas are usally of this kind. To give a modern example,

to say that the sun goes round the earth is to be guilty of this Naya, because this empirical experience does not take into account most of the astronomical facts. If these sages were alive they would accuse behaviouristic psychology as well as the philosophical concepts underlying most of Freud's writings of this error. They did accuse the Charvakas or materialists of their own days of vyvaharanaya.

The fourth type of partial truth is called **rujustranaya**. This is due to taking the present moment only into account. The poet Shelly in his Ode to a Skylark says :

We look before and after
And pine for what is not
Our sincerest laughter
Is wrought with saddest thought.

To the poet, the skylark that is blissfully radiant, taking the present moment only into account, is a source of inspiration. To the Jaina ascetic it is a naya. It does not take its previous births into account - nor its release from samsara.

Sabdanaya is the fifth type of partial truth. This naya habit takes for granted that the meaning of a word and its truth go together. Of course, they should go together but very often it is not so. A man may be called Goldsmith and he need not either be gold or smith. Bad snakes are euphemistically called good snakes by primitive tribes of people. Even when words have their own meanings we use so many figures of speech like metonymy and transferred epithet that color, distort, or exaggerate meanings. For instance when we say "death lays its icy hands on kings", or "sceptre and crown tumble down" we are not wholly wrong but we are not literally right.

The sixth Naya is **samabhirudha.** In this, we distinguish terms according to their roots. The word argon means the lazy

thing. But when we say argon we do not refer to any lazy thing but only to that particular gas in the air which does not readily combine with other elements and is found in connection with nitrogen and helium.

The last Naya is called **evambhutanaya.** According to this, one particular form of activity is taken and specialised in a term. Let us take the term, a post-man. He is referred to as a post-man even when he is shopping or going to a theatre. Should he not be called a theatre-goer rather than a post-man because at that time he is not delivering letters ?

The Jain teachers did not merely enunciate these principles, but applied them to actual concrete situations. Thus they accused the Buddhists, the Nyaya-Vaisesika, Samkhya, and Advaita of one or another of the first four Nayas. To criticise a person is to make him violently react and that exactly happened and teachers of all the schools, orthodox as well heterodox began to criticise the Jaina position and stoutly defend their own points of view. The Jains have thus rendered a valuable service to Indian thought. They have pointed out the pit falls into which we might fall by the point of view we take. In other countries too, philosophers have thought along these lines. Relativity of thought and its dangers were pointed out by the Sophists of Greece and Protagorus who said, "man is the measure of all things" was the most outspoken of them. David Hume and Immanuel Kant are other examples.

However relativity of thought is self contradictory. Because the statement, 'all thought is relative' is a relative truth, Plato has truly condemned it by saying, "You cannot hold water in a leaky vessel".

THE MID-INDIA REGION

Dr. Henry H. Presler

NOTE : This regular feature contains information derived from current field investigations by the Director of the Department of Organized Research of Leonard Theological College, Jabalpur, M. P., India. and describes the cultural patterns in one of the cities at the center of the peninsula.

Primitive Religions in the City.

TABOO

Taboo has been variously defined, as a prohibition whose infringement results in an automatic penalty, as a prohibition resting on some magico-religious sanction, as social control by abstention, taking into account the dangerous aspects of supernatural power and surrounding these with strict observances, as a sacred interdiction. Taboo is the English rendering of **tabu,** a Polynesian word discovered by Captain James Cook in 1777 during his third voyage around the world.

In the early study of primitive religion, the term 'taboo' was used to indicate the signs of caution established to guard against basically dangerous things, i. e. those possessing **mana.** Such could best be dealt with by avoiding them, rather than risking contact. In the specifically Polynesian usage, the word referred to the forbidden and sacred.

Are there phenomena in a large urban center in mid-India which can be described by the word taboo ? Are there dangerous locales, objects, plants and animal beings which it were better for the urbanite to avoid ? Should he walk around them, or take another **paqdandi** leading his footsteps in a circuitous route ? Are there objects of which it is said, Don't touch. Don't see ! Don't smell ! Don't taste ! .... and other realities which should not be spoken or heard ? The answer to such questions is, Yes. Taboo, as a form of primitive religion, may be readily observed in the mid-India city, as well as in the village or jungle. There follow a few illustrations

Taboos Against Touching

1. **Sites under Taboo** : By site, in this connotation, I mean any spot on the surface of the ground or at ground level, commonly understood to be peculiarly related to the supernatural, and therefore dangerous. Such sites may be classified as follows :

a. Those to be strictly avoided, particularly parts of former villages since incorporated within the city limits. For example, a site in Ward M was formerly occupied by Bhumias (tribal field workers), every individual member having peridied within the same one week, so that other castes had to be found to burn the last to die. Their houses were shunned and after some years melted down into the soil which became taboo. The city has grown around the spot, but nobody can be induced to risk building on it. The stone symbols of their gods now mark the site.—2362 ABC

Also, certain houses whose inhabitants died under sudden and calamitous circumstances cannot be rented.

Again, a few caves which, according to tradition, were once occupied by holy mendicants, ought not to be entered, ever. 4378.

(b) Sites to be avoided with normal behavior, but which can be approached with precautionary behavior. These may be further subdivided into two classes : I) Those which can be approached with ritual gestures, as in the case of low castes who can draw near to a high caste sacred location provided they make the required signs : 2) Those which can be actually entered, such as the precincts of a shrine, provided one first takes a ceremonial bath, removes footwear, and makes the required gestures.

(c) Sites which can be both approached and entered, but where behavior should be subdued and abnormal, such as cemeteries.

Such sites remain inviolate until long after the last visibe memorial structure has disappeared, which means the site is not to be converted to other uses within any man's life time. The mid-India city is not able to overcome such taboo. For example, the site of an entire cemetery came into the hands of one man who realized its land value within the urban complex. Several years ago he told me of his intention to alter the land use so as to make it saleable. His first act was to prohibit further burials, and his second, to turn it into a garden. After putting up barriers around its borders to hide his activities, he proceeded with his seeds, but at this point, the taboo got the better of him, and he was able to bring himself to planting the seeds only on its borders. This contrasts with a more secularized society, such as Germany, where, at Fulda, for example, the Nazis ploughed up the Jewish cemetery without flicking an eyelash, and made it into a public park used by the inhabitants without fear. 2936

2. **Persons under taboo** : The caste system remains vigorous in our mid-India city which means that the entire society is organized in a status hierarchy around the principle of whether an orthodox Brahmin will or will not take water from one's hand. Among persons patronizing tea shops where the food and water taboos are relaxed, the acid test remains as to whether inter-marriage is possible.

Menstruating women are taboo to the sacred basil plant. It is said that if their shadows fall on the **tulsi,** the unfortunate plant will wither and dry up within a very few days. A tenement dweller may give you this reason to account for the death of his well-watered basil plant.

Certain persons must not be encountered when starting on a jouurney, lest the trip be postponed until another day. This can be annoying as when I set aside a full day for a given project, but early that morning, setting out with my companion we happened to meet a **teli** (one who

extracts oil in a press), and the project had to be given up as my friend did not dare to proceed. The doctrine was that we would touch with our feet the footprints made by him.

3. **Objects under taboo** : Food taboos are so well-known as to require no elucidation, Each caste has its own prohibited eatables. Early in my career as a field investigator I learned never to discuss my personal diet lest the urbanites to be interviewed become estranged to me. One sure way to make rapport impossible is to tell mid-India people what you eat.

Religious symbols, however mutilated, are forever taboo in this mid-India city. The Kalchuri Dynasty (ruling our valley for the five hunded years preceding 1100 A.D., and extending its domain over much northern India) produced excellent statuary. Successive political upheavals were destructive to buildings and symbols, so that diggers and ploughers constantly turn up fragments of cornices or temple stones carrying three dimensional bas relief. These are brought reverently to some shrine and added to the unmutilated symbols, to be honored equally with the divinities Friezes and designs may be lifted out of sacred buildings and used in others, but not three-dimensional human and animal figures.

4. **Plants under taboo** : These may also be listed under 'totemism' and it were well to realize that the same object may be classified variously. Thus, a pipal tree may be classified under totemism or taboo, and one realizes that these alternative definitions are different ways of looking at the same pipal tree, depending on the theory with which one starts to classify.

With reference to urbanism, the large quantity of human beings and their privilege of moving about within the city and in the same sports, gives the false Impression that all

are on a par. Here taboo functions to sort people and to separate them from one another, maintaining the ancient status system. Taboo accomplishes by restricting some plants to certain castes. For example, the pipal is forbidden to Shudras and lower castes, but not to the Twice-Born castes. The superficial observer sees a mass of humanity in the city bazaar and thinks the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity have migrated here from France. But let him spend a day observing from a distance, the rituals at a pipal tree, surrounded by its taboo system, sorting and separating people from each other.

5. **Animals under taboo** : There is not a motorist in our city but who trembles at the thought of inadvertently knocking over a cow. Some tremble because the cow is taboo to them and some tremble because the cow is taboo to other people. Our truck gardeners enjoy telling you how they will shoot the pigs coming by night to eat the produce, but it is all bluff, they never pull the trigger. Instead they shout, or brandish sticks to frighten away the marauders. In other words, Don't touch.

Taboos Against Being Seen

I have not come across any taboos against seeing, but against being seen, there are many. This raises the subject of **nazar lagna,** or evil eye. In our city it is widely believed that some people have the power to cause to wither by a mere glance. Such persons are rarely isolated and so defined, the closest approach being to state vaguelv that Gonds (tribals) have this power. Persons with evil eyes are to be avoided; at all costs, one should keep out of their range of vision, dodge them, hide from them.

In our city the common pattern is an area surrounded by commercial frontage on its four boundries, in which neon signs and radio shops bespeak modernity. This modernistic "front" is only one part of the picture. Within the area, behind the shops,

at the center are the grain, sugarcane, rice or vegetable field plots, each with its **Chandi** (clay pot) inverted on a stick to avoid the glance of the dangerous evil eye.

The eye lids of city children are blackened with **Kajal** or soot, or with **Surma** antimony, to stop the glance of the evil eye from piercing youngsters, and so to prevent the slaughter of the innocents.

Taboos Detected by Smelling

Although one may help to establish rapport in the open air by refusing to tell what he eats, in a closed room one's diet cannot be hid. Even though his breath be faultless and his body clean, the pores of his skin and his clothing exude odors imperceptible to the investigator who eats the forbidden food. His respondents can learn from their noses what he eats- There are body odors. however clean, that betray him, and this is especially true in the hot months.

The function of incense remains to be investigated, under the suspicion that merely pleasant olfactory sensation fails to explain it. The hypothesis is advanced that burning incense is taboo to the harmful demons in the air, hovering about the sacred precincts, and hence they tend to retreat, to withdraw and to leave the rituals unimpeded. Incense is indispensable to urban religious rituals.

Taboos Against Speaking and Hearing

In this city I have yet to find an orthodox woman who will speak out her husband's name. If she hears his name spoken, she may or may not confess it. Rather, she will refer to him without the use of his name. using such phrases as "my man" "my husband" "or" the father of my son"

This brief list fails to mention the myriads of taboos connected with intra-caste custom and rituals. It does not go into the

taboos pertaining to time, auspicious and inauspicious days, nor does it enter the realm of astral signs and astrology. Such taboos are to be found in our city in abundance, partly because this valley attracts people from the rural hinterland and from distant provinces.

URBANISM AND TABOO

Urbanism as a way of life, is said by sociologists to affect the beliefs and practices of city dwellers, gradually estranging them from the sacred group and habituating them to individualism. If this has been the experience in the West, is it the same in mid-India ? My answer is, much less so. There is more evidence to support the hypothesis that several influences, including taboo, operate in the city to preserve the definitions and function of orthodox groupings. To repeat, the bazar may shuffle people together, but the pipal tree taboo re-separates them into the traditional identities and restrictions.

One needs to be reminded that in orthodox Indian society the distinction between the sacred and the profance is not drawn, because monism by premise excludes such a distinction Such concepts have meaning in a theistic universe of discourse, but not necessarily among the illiterate masses of India (dualists being few in number). Bringing such dichotomies into the mid-India city, predisposses the investigator not to understand what he is observing. Among such peoples taboo is fruitfully viewed from the standpoint of the way it 'works' in the city, namely, as a preserver of the orthodox social order. Our people do not think exclusively in terms of **clean** and **unclean, dangerous** and **safe** objects, **sacred** and **profane;** rather, they think in terms of endogamous groups, the expected actions of members of those groups, and of the status of each group. Taboo is actually what ego's group does not do; why it is not done, is not known: "Our ancestors knew, but we don't know why we don't do this or that; but this much we know, we don't do it." Now the point here is that if a member of

ego's group should do it, that would be a break in the solidarity of the group, all of whose members are mutually dependent upon one another. even in the city. They do not require unemployment insurance, or old age pensions or sick benefits, they maintain one another in weal or woe. Our city is a mosaic of tiny intradependent groups, each surrounded by psychological and social barriers, one of which is taboo, If those barriers yield, allowing individuals to escape into other groups, or, allowing disintegrating factors and forces to intrude into the group to destroy its solidity, the situation of the mid-India urbanite becomes precarious in the absence of formal social legislation. Taboo helps to butterss the dykes. Taboo provides a religio-magical power that back-fires against anyone who dares to pull the trigger of non-conformity. Taboo does not love. woo, forgive and restore the norm-breaker; it demolishes him. Its vengeance is swift and decisive. Taboo is obeyed through fear, and affirmed by myth. Taboo has its existence in dread, and its confirmation in testimonies of living persons who readily recount the disasters befalling the wayward. Taboo therefore reinforces he overall social order, and preserves the social fraction against the leveling processes of urban life.

In the foregoing propositions, I do not mean to infer that taboo functions exclusively to preserve the economic well-being of the members of Indian social groupings. It needs to be added that the individual actually cannot do much of anything apart from his group, for instance, he cannot obtain a wife apart from the initiative of his group, cannot acquire any particular oral education embodying a consistent and meaningful world-view outside his group, cannot confidently and freely obtain the benefits of a religion aside from the particular shrines of his group and so on. His pattern and style of life are given by his group, and outsiders expect him to incarnate such. He cannot give his name (in orthodox society) without mentioning also his caste, which means his group. Having given this definition of himself, he will be compelled by out siders to adhere to it. (1) It does not appear psychologically feasible for my informants to verbally falsify their caste, and I

have never come across an instance of such a lie. Individuals do not attempt to change their group identification, possibly one reason being the fear of taboo. There follow a few illustrations of my central thesis. viz. taboo in our mid-India city operates to preserve the social group against the individualistic tendencies of urbanism.

Brahmin Mohulla

A **mohulla** may be defined as a spatial and commnual entity, having commonly understood boundaries within which members of one endogamous group dwell. In Ward Y of our city there are several Brahmin mohullas, the oldest reaching back for some three hundred years, the Brahmins having been called by tribal chieftains to officiate at rituals. The former were rewarded with gifts of land and have had assured income and residence for generations.

Within the last thirty years, two alterations within the social situation have occurred. First, the Koree Mohulla (hand weavers' mohulla) about two hundred and fifty feet to the south, was forsaken with the advent of power looms in the city, and the Brahmin mohulla expanded by buying the Koree houses and moving into some of them, there being all told, fifteen houses. (This is a rare case of a population succession in which high castes move into a low caste area). Second, the Brahmins built small mud houses on their land and rented them to anybody except outcastes. In other

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(1) The forthcoming Indian census will omit mention of caste, and government factories and offices officially ignore caste. But on the other hand, Government gives educational scholarships to despised castes on condition that they declare themselves. Their policies underline my own impression of the persistency of caste in our mid-Indian city, and of the difficulty of escaping it even officially. In my experience caste operates to day as yesterday, whatever may be outward professions to suit the anti-caste policy declared by officialdom.

words, the urban process shuffled together high and low castes, and according to some theorists, this should result in some common social denominator. But as a matter of fact, no such neutral gray has resulted, instead, both the high and the low are as indepently colorful as orthodoxy would expect, and as rigidly separate, one of the causes for which is taboo.

Taboo operates in several ways in this situation, and the ones to be described here have been channeled through religion. (2) Taboos connected to religious symbols and physical structures, are keeping the groups both separate and intact, and guaranteeing to their members, the surety and identification so necesary in this city.

The Unknown God

A stately pipal tree, four and a half feet in diameter, towers over the compound of the leading Brahmin family, and stands midway between low caste tenants and the high castes. The former spoke as follows :—

Q: What idol is that under the pipal tree ?
A: We don't know for sure, but it looks like H —.

As a matter of fact, it was not H—but B—, and the ignorance of the low castes bears on the point I am trying to make.

Q: Well, when do you worship it ?
A: We don't worship it, the Brahmins in the big house do.
Q: Why don't you worship it, are you forbidden ?

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2. Taboos connected with religion have been defined at the beginning of the article, which definitions stress the danger and restriction felt by the believer. But to the writer such definitions confine themselves to the quality of an internal subjective experience of an externally demanded social conformity. The definitions based upon the internal experience are true as far as they go. A Complete definition of taboo would require both the subjective reaction and the externel social compulsion. It is one phase of this latter that we are examining here.

A : Officials are telling us that we can worship anywhere, but we don't dare. You see, only the Brahmins know the **mantras** *(verses) proper for that god, and which please him. You can't worship any god without mantras, and if we used our mantras meant for our gods, in an attempt to worship that Brahmin's god, what would happen? Why, our mantras would come back on us and injure us.*

Q : It is said that the spirit of a Brahmin who died before his normal span, lives in a pipal tree. Is it so?

A : Yes, it is so some pipal tree, and it is true of this tree. There is a spirit in it.

Q : I have seen young girls wrapping a thread around a pipal tree at certain times, in order to get a good husband. Is it done here?

A : Yes, we have seen it done here by high caste girls. But we low caste people don't do it, because we don't have the **janeu** *(sacred thread of the twice-born castes). If we tried to do this, should have to use* **kachha** *string (unsanctified and improperly spun string), and then that spirit would become angry with us and play some mischief.*

Moreover, you should know that one of the low-caste women here who is renting a house of that Brahmin, broke a branch off that pipal tree and burnt it as fire wood. What happened? Her child died.

In other words, the low castes fear the consequence of infringing on the sacred rights and privileges of high castes. They fear supernatural, not human wrath. It is not a question of social equality, of the rights of man, such moral questions do not occur to these people. It is a question of their own liquidation by supernatural force. It is to the Brahmin's advantage not to be disturbed by equalitrian social theory, and it is to the advantage of the low castes to preserve their own identity and solidarity. There is no resentment of the taboo by either side, but rather an acceptance

of a supernatural enforcement of what both want. The taboo preserves each group in a state of isolation from the other. This comes out in the interview with the Brahmins:

Q: *Who is this god ?*
A: *It is B—.*

Q: *But your tenants say it is H.*
A: *They don't know. How would they know ? We worship it, we alone.*

Q: *What do you know about this god ?*
A: *It is an unusual God which came down from the Gond kings. There is nothing in our scriptures about it. Our forefathers were called to perform its rituals, so we continue them. But who this god is, and what he does in particular, that we cannot tell you, not knowing ourselves.*

Q: *Do you have any objection if your tenants worship this god ?*
A: *(Looking sharply at the interrogator) No. Let them worship him if they like, but as a matter of fact,* ***they don't.***

Population Shift

Let us now look at the taboo situation in the old Koree mohulla, invaded by the Brahmins. After the Koree exodus, and the purchase of their property by the Brahmins, the latter moved into the best and largest houses, and rented the others to the following: Nai or barber (a serving caste from whom a Brahmin will take water), Raj (or mason, a lower artisan caste from whom a Brahmin will not take water), Khariwa (Dravidian tribe from whom a Brahmin will not take water), Koree or hand weaver (untouchable from whom a Brahmin will not take water), Mehra or village watchman (from whom a Brahmin will not take water), Dhobis or washermen (untouchable from whom a Brahmin will not take water), Chamar or leather workers (untouchable from whom a Brahmin will not take water). The fact that this conglommeration could be assembled wthin one mohulla, must be attributed to the re-shuffling process of the city.

However, taboo (among other causes) operates to maintain the social distances between the castes, and to preserve the identity of each caste. My interviews with the low caste families shwed two conceptions common among them. One was that each family considers itself a member of a solid caste group in the villages from which it emigrated, and to which it which it returns twice a year for ceremonial purposes. The other was that each family of low castes considers it appropriate to align itself with the other low caste families, but not with the high caste Brahmins. This alignments is rather nebulous, as they do not intermarry nor interdine, and do not tell each other thair lore, magic or divinities. Their aloofness from one another on these points is fixed. Since the city has shifted them into this particular circle of houses, they, being human, fraternize at a minimum level. They had one problem in common, namely, whether and where to conduct the public rituals ? (Each has his secret god inside the house).

The problem was acute because traditionally only one high spot of ground is recognized as the residence of divinities, and the Brahmins were already in possession of it. The reason this alone, is thought to be supernaturally charged is the peculiar topography. The high spot was in times part the bank of an estuary extending north from J—**Talaiya** or pond, a body of water to the south and east at a distance of about three hundred feet. Traditions farther east confirm this and the high spot of ground was funery site at which bodies were burned (judging from the two high caste Brahmin shrines remaining. 44 99 A and C.) This high spot came to be associated with the cult of the dead and with the god to the funery ground, Z—. There are now two shrines to Z— in the possession of the Brahmins, and located on the bank of a former estuary which sacred bathing and immersion of ashes took place.

So the question arese, Can we low - castes worship at these Brahmin Shrines ? Since one of the Shrines endowed with a field, whose income goes to a Brahmin priestess who comes daily to per-

form the rituals, and since the other shrine is controlled by a Brahmin gentleman of means, the problem was sharply etched. We make a mistake, however, if we think that the question was a problem in social ethics. I have not been able to discover a hint in any remarks of the low castes that they resent not worshipping at the Brahmin shrine, no suggestion of discrimination. This is not a problem in morals, but a matter of taboo operating to preserve the group identities of the participants whose fate threw them together in the city.

The low castes decided within themselves not only that they did not want to do rituals at the Brahmin shrines, but that it would be to their absolute disadvantage so to do. This decision had earlier been made by the Korees themseleves, also low castes, and now the second question arose, How to get access to the required spot ? The holy spot measures about forty feet in length and twenty feet in width. The Brahmin shrines are at both ends, and are constructed of unyielding cement. The only alternative was for the Korees to make a shrine between the two Brahmin shrines, and this they did, using mud for the platform, and installing the god of the Korees whose name is K—4499B.

We would make a second error if we supposed that the Brahmins objected to this solution. They placed no hindrance in the way of the low castes. These Brahmins are kind and human in their attitudes. To them, the low castes should be helped, not amalgamated. The Brahmin attitude is strikingly illustrated at the first-class well which supplies the only water in the area. The Brahmins saw clearly that except the low-castes use their well, renters could not remain. The low castes were advised to take water from one side of the well, whereas the Brahmins take from the other side, but both dip their buckets into the same water. Both high and low castes meet at the well in a paternalistic relationship. But the low castes would not dream of taking water from the (for them) taboo side, and vice versa. Neither would the low castes dream of pouring water on the idol of the caste shrine, nor vice versa.

The result is therefore different from that in societies without such taboos. If, for example, you see on the four corners of an intersection in a western city, respectively, the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches each with its own social status, you may be sure that some individusls will shift their adherence from one group to another because separation from ons's original group is not prevented by taboos. In the mid-India city being described, and at the holy spot with its three shrines under persent purview, the taboo system operates to prevent the individual's breaking out from his original group, to keep every person in the group into which he was born in an intra-dependent system of mutuality.

In sum, the hypothesis is advanced that the form of primitive religion interpreted by the word 'taboo' operates in the city to maintain the orthodox social order which was generated in a different social context.

Does Taboo Disintegrate in the Urban Process?

I find little evidence in this mid-India city of the actual weakening of taboos. Tea shops were mentioned previously, but drinking boiled liquid is different from inter-dining. Even old, orthodox culture allowed foods cooked in clarified butter to be shared on an inter-caste basis. We have not yet investigated tea stalls to learn whether they have clientele limited to certain castes. The allegation that tea stalls and hotels are breaking down inter-dining is often made, but I have not seen any evidences presented. In other words, we do not have organized proof that food taboos are being destroyed in the city.

There may be influences leading to the relaxation of taboos, but evidence as to their effect is lacking. They are:—

1. Government policies and legislative enactments, particularly as pertain to castes (temple entry, etc.) : legal enactment is one thing and taboo is another. The invariable response is as follows. Q. Can low castes enter this high caste temple ? A. Yes.

Q. Do they ? A: No.

It may be that verbal repetition of the legal permission to enter will in time effect a relaxation of the taboo. This is speculation only.

2. The physical demands of a city may be detrimental to taboos. In the above illustration, the Brahmins had to choose between allowing the low castes to draw water from their well, or forego renters. But this case may be an interim arrangement only, as soon as water is piped into the area, the need of the well will become negligible, and the strain on the taboo will be removed. No real change may have occurred. The writer does not point to any decisive and permanent destruction of taboos by urban technology, density of population, or superorganic structure.

3. Formal education in schools, if tainted with Western notions, may prove destructive to taboos. At present perhaps 70% of the city's population is without schooling. Over half of all primary school teachers are orthodox Brahmins who usually believe in taboo on doctrinal grounds.

4. A force I have found to be destructive of taboo in the city is an accompaniment of urbanism, namely, a stress upon morals. Ethical notions, arising in cities, are inimical to taboos. To illustrate :

> *One shonld always respect a holy place. But some years ago a Kshatriya came here and wanted to build a house too near the funery ground. He removed the monuments unvolved, and then began to throw dirt here and there to level the ground. Finally, he built a house and moved his family into it. Within two years all died. But the people living in the house now have not died. and this is because they were not to blame for the house being there, and did not know what that Kshatriya had done until long afterwards.*—4494.

As soon as moral responsibility enters the worldview taboo seems to lose some of its absolute power. Illiterates in the city acquire ethical ideas and the hold of taboo upon them becomes conditional, instead of ultimate.

Hinduism

Mr. T. N. Karim

It is difficult to define what Hinduism is It has had no historic founder it and lacks authoritative standards, either of belief or conduct. On the one hand we find it highly intellectual and philosophical, and on the other hand, non-philosophical. It embraces monism, polytheism, pantheism, theism, animism.

Monier Williams points out that Hinduism has ended in embracing something from all religions It presents phases suited to all minds. It is all-tolerant all-compliant, all-comprehensive, all-absorbing It has its spiritual and its natural aspect, its esoteric and exoteric, its subjective and objective, its rational and irrational.

Although the Hindus fail to distinguish the diversities of faith and concepts which Hinduism presents, we can broadly classify Hinduism under two heads.

1. Religions of the Indo-Aryans leading to pantheism
2. Religions of the early Indians developing into polytheism

The basic conception of Hinduism is the transmigration of souls. The whole Hindu system revolves around this conception. The various systems found within Hinduism are the various paths or ways of life, by which cessation of re-incarnation is sought.

These paths may be grouped under three main headings:

1 Gyan Marga (philosophies, mantras, magic diagrams)
2 Karma Marga (rites, rituals, and sacrifices)
3 Bhakti Marga (Krishna, Rama, Siva, Sakti and other divinities).

Sources :—

D. S. Sarma points out that Hinduism began in the dim past with the composition of the hymns recorded in the Rig Veda. But

the archaeological findings of ancient cities, Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, show that Hinduism existed even before the coming of the Aryans into India. The religions of the lettered Hindus may be traced back to the Rig and its subsequent literature, but what about the religion of the primitives and aboriginal tribes, who are also called Hindus ? Hinduism draws its breath from the Vedas and subsequent voluminous scriptures. Different sects within Hinduism have their own sacred scriptures, which justify their claims.

Characteristic marks of Hinduism :—

1. Belief in incarnation and Karma.
2. Closed caste system.
3. Samskaras and sacraments.

The main topics are :—

1. Nature worship of the Vedic period
2. Sacrifices—Brahmanas (Karma Kanda)
   Mimamsa School
   Popular Hinduism.
   Sutras, and the Laws of Manu.

   Note the 4 great sacrifices, special days and observances, supported by mythologies given in Brahmanas and Puranas.

3. Upasana of Upanishads — speculative metaphysics.
   i. Vedanta Schools:—
      Advaita of Sankara.
      Visistadvaita of Ramanuja.
      Dvaita of Madhva.
   ii. Sankhya and Yoga:—
      Dvaita view of reality
      Samadhi and yoga practice.
4. Bhakti — Epics and Itihasa:—
   Ramayana and Mahabharata.

Puranas (18) the minor nature gods become personal
Bhagavada School (Krishna and Radha)
Vaisnava School (Visnu and Ram)
Sakta School (Siva and Sakti)
Sant-mat of medieval period.

5. Animism —No Scriptures:—
Spirits, demons, gods, goblins associated with the gods and goddesses of Puranic Hinduism.

6. Reformed groups of the modern period:—
Brahma Samaj
Arya Samaj
Ramkrishna Mission
Sarvodaya

Now let us deal with the subject historically :

1. Before the Aryan invasion — 3000 B.C.
Dravidianism—Mother cult
Yoga practices
Worship of bull and Siva.

2. Vedic Age—2000 B.C. to 500 B.C.

(a) The age of the mantras or hymns
Nature personified and worshipped
33 gods (11 of heaven, 11 of atmosphere and 11 of earth)
No temple, no priest. Highest gods were Varuna, Indra, Agni.
Henotheism—advancing towards monotheism.

(b) The age of Brahmanas—10000 to 800 B.C. ?)
Rituals, sacrifices, and growth of myths, which found further expression in the Epic age and Puranas.

(c) The age of the Upanishads—800 to 500 B.C. ? Speculative, They deal with mystical and secret doctrines.

The main subjects were Brahman, Atman, Moksha, Samsara, Karma, Upasana and Gyana. The twin doctrines of Karma and Transmigration of soul became the pivot of Hinduism. Brahma became the goal. The religion of Upanishads was individualistic. Gyana took the place of Yajna.

3. The Age of the Sutras—500 B.C. to 200 B.C. ?

Creation of Shrauta, Grihya, and Dharma Sutras. They deal with rites and ceremonies, moral codes and the caste system. The period was one of conservation and not of expansion.

This was the age of speculative confusion. At the time of Buddha there were 62 theories about the world and the soul. Radhakrishnan says that "True religion and morality were lost in a heap of meaningless rites, childish superstitions and futile discussions."*

Jainism and Buddhism arose and became different from Hinduism by rejecting the Vedas.

4. The Epic Age— 200 B.C. to 300 A D.

Creation of Ramayana and Mahabharata. The special problem was how to bring about unity in a vast mass of heterogeneous people comprising various races with different levels of culture. Siva and Sakti, the Dravidian deities were recognised.

Doctrine of avatra or incarnation (Trimurti).

Religion was summed up in four precepts—Dharma (duty-sacrifices and rituals); Artha (wealth); Kama (desire, higher ones); and Moksha (liberation).

*Radhakrishnan, ***Indian Philosophy*** (New York : Macmillan Company, 1951) pp. 352-355.

The Ramayana and Mahabharata were didactic—defining the ideal life of people as different grades and statuses were pictured.

5. Age of Puranas and Darshanas—300 A.D. to 1000 A.D.

This is the period of sectarian development and of the philosophical schools of Hinduism. These sects having a monotheistic belief were intolerant of other faiths. The important sects were :—

1. Bhagavada School—Radha-Krishna cult.
2. Vaisnava—Rama cult.
3. Saiva—Saivites and Saktas.
4. Smartha—Unitary movements, an attempt is made to unite Bhagavata, Vaisnava, Saiva and gods of the Smritis.

All these schools have their own sectarian scriptures, called **agamas.**

Saktism embraced all grades and castes of people. The yogis considered themselves above caste, creed and dogmas.

During this time the Darshan Sastras were finalised. Nyaya-Vaisesika; Yoga-Sankhya; Mimansa-Vedanta had an abiding effect on the mass of the Hindus. Bhakti School and Sant-mat.

With the influence of Islam many Muslim ideals and beliefs were absorbed into Hinduism: —

1. Loving devotion and faith in One God.
2. Belief in predestination भाग्य (fate)

Sant-mat, founded by great spiritual leaders like Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, Maluk etc. of the medieval period, spread among the low castes. Its aims were.

1. Casteless community.
2. Belief in One God other than the Avatar.

The modern period from 1707 to 1960 is marked by religious Syncretism, and unitary movements commonly known as Hindu Reform Movements. The main purpose was to bring together the various alien or rival sects, within Hinduism, and at the same time to reinterpret Hinduism in the light of Western thought, but there were very few adherants.

Brahma Samaj :— Incorporated Christian concepts and practices It accepted the Muslim, Buddhist and Hindu scriptures and symbols.

Arya Samaj :— The founder. Dayanand Saraswati, in direct opposition to Christianity and Islam, preached the early Vedic religion.

Ramkrishna Mission :— Humanitarian activities based on the lines of Christian missions, but in the garb of Hinduism.

Harijan Movement and Sarvodaya :— The former being a reform within the closed caste group, and the later aiming at economic development.

Aurobindo tried to interpret Vedanta in the light of evolutionist theory. The core of his philosophy is that Brahma is being and an aspect of becoming—the static and the dynamic.

In the words of Dr. A. Schweitzer :— "Hinduism possesses an astonishing capacity for over looking or setting aside theoretical problems, because from time immemorial it has lived in a state of compromise between monotheism and polytheism, between pantheism and theism, between world and life negation and world and life affirmation, and between supra- ethical ways of regarding things."*

* Schiweitzer A, "Indian Thought and its Developments" quoted by Father Zachariah, ***An outline of Hinduism*** (Alwaye : Bros C. F. Joseph at the J. M. Press, 1956) p. 443.

BOOK REVIEW

A. J. APPASAMY : **Temple Bells** *(Calcutta, Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, pp. 128. Price Rs. 6/-)*

The Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta, has rendered a good service to the community by reprinting this book which was published first more than a quarter of a century ago. This attractive collection consists of readings from 'Hindu Religious Literature'.

There are several ways of getting acquainted with a religion other than our own. One is the scientific analytic method of studying the various ideas that constitute the theological beliefs of that religion and their historical development. Usually, this is followed by a careful comparative criticism. In this scientific method there is no place for feelings. Every detail is placed before the bar of reason objectively and conclusions are drawn without any trace of emotion In the field of religion in which emotions and feelings play an important part such a method is likely to lead one astray.

Bishop Appasamy follows a different method in this book. To him "Ideas are of value only if they inspire experience". So he culls out of the vast Hindu Religious Literature selected portions that deeply move us. His idea is that the reader must feel and appreciate rather than coldly grasp and criticise.

If this book is to be of much use it should not be read hurriedly. It has to be meditated calmly and taken into the inner chamber of one's heart in which we quietly face life's questions in the presence of God So it is a book of meditations.

Bishop Appasamy has taken great pains to get as varied a collection as possible. Thus we have selections from Appar and Manikka Vachakar from the Tamil Nadu; Tagore, Citta Ranjan Das and Keshub Chunder Sen from Bengal; Tukaram and Namdev

from Maharashtra; Bhai Vir Singh and Nanak from the Punjab, Mira Bai and Tulsidas from Hindustan; and Dadudayal from Gujerat. These are just a few of the many others he has selected, from the comparatively recent religious poets and writers. Besides these he has given us portions from the Upanishads, the Puranas, the Mantras and the Epics. The subject matter also he has collected under appropriate headings, thoughts about God, man, and the world. The chapter headings are suggestive and interesting. They are "The Supremacy of Religion", "Greatness of God", "Burden of Sin", "Joy of Salvation", "The Moral Path", "The Adoration of God", "Practice of Prayer", "The Speech of Love", and "In Diverse Manners".

Manifold and profound are the theological ideas underlying the publication of this book. It implies first of all that God has revealed His truth, perhaps not fully but evidently, to people of other religious faiths. It also holds that inspiration is that which inspires and any religious literature is of value in so far as it moves our hearts to noble sentiments and high ideals. In other words it is not the roots but the fruits of the tree of inspiration that count.

The charge has often been made that Indian Christians are bigotted and conceited, and in their pride they refuse to study other religions. Bishop Appasamy's books and this one in particular have given the lie to this charge.

Religion ultimately is an inner experience. This experience is not born in a vacuum, because the environment of a man influences his religious expressions. Thus when Christianity entered into the pagan soil of Europe and Africa, the Greek philosophical ideas current there contributed much to the expression of Western Systematic Theology.

A second-hand theology is no theology at all. Indian Christians cannot look to the West for theological expressions of their

own inner experience. "Just as a plant that has been put into new soil cannot afford to grudge the effort to take root but must fade and languish until it does take root, so Christians in India must look to their own culture and religious history of the past" for their dynamic expression of their new religious life. An Indian Christian repeating phrases from Tillich or Niebuhr, or Barth or Brunner is just like a David in Saul's armour. Or to put it differently those who are content to give expression to their religious experiences in the borrowed terminology of the West are like coolies in railway stations who carry luggage. During the time they carry they have rich possessions. The only thing is they are not their own.

So, Bishop Appasamy is throwing a challenge to the Indian Christians, to study the Hindu religion - not merely scientifically but more than scientifically.

Bishop Appasamy is neither a syncretist nor an eclectic. Appreciation does not mean acknowledgement of loyalty and obedience or surrender of heart but he does make an appeal to appreciate the most inspiring portions of Hindu religious literature.

This volume has an introduction which is short, sweet and appropriate. The carefully prepared index at the end is a great help for easy reference.

Bishop Appasamy says that he intends to follow this up with another volume of selections from other vernacular literatures. We do hope he will fulfil his promise very soon.

TIRUKURAL : *A New Translation*

(dated 4th century a.d. or earlier)

CHAPTER L.

Discerning the Situation

(NOTE : *The last chapter was on "Discerning the Time" of an action; this one is connected with the "place" of actions. The poet has in mind kings going to war, and the word "action" necessarily means military action).*

1. Do not begin any action (against the enemy) nor belittle him, until every possible situation has been considered.
   (NOTE : *Possibilities of counter attack, or escape, when besieged, etc. are in the mind of the poet.)*
2. Even to those who are strongly self-reliant, (the safety of) a refuge is a great advantage.
3. Even the weak can conquer the mighty if the situation (i.e. strategic place) for victory is discerned.
4. The enemies' intentions will be thwarted if the situation is discerned and action is taken boldly.
5. In water, the crocodile conquers (animals). Outside water other animals conquer it.
6. Chariots that run on land are not effective on seas, similarly ships that skip through oceans are ineffective on land.
7. No help other than daring is needed if plans to prevent defeat are secured.
8. Enthusiasm fades when the king of a great army goes seeking help from the king of a small army.
9. Even when deprived of the facilities of a fortress and other military aids, heroes are not easily conquered, in their own (native) place.
10. The mighty war elephant unafraid of eye-hitting spears becomes an easy prey to foxes, if it is caught In loamy mire.

Chapter LI,
Wise Selection.

(Note : *This chapter deals with the selection of ministers by kings.*)

1. Morality, business efficiency, ability to resist the lure of pleasures, and reverence for life, these four are the criteria for the selection (of ministers by kings).
2. The (wise) selection will evidently fall on a man of noble birth who is free from blemishes and who is afraid of the stain of evil.
3. The difficulty of selection is plainly seen from the fact that even erudite scholars are not free from blemishes.
4. Evaluate a man's good and evil traits and select on the basis of the preponderance of the one over the other.
5. A man's magnanimity or meanness is brought out by the touchstone of his deeds.
6. Avoid choosing men that have no ties of kinship; for, they have no fear of horrible deeds.
   (Note : *By kinship is meant chiefly the affectionate relationship to parents, wife, children, or brothers and sisters.*)
7. Choosing out of love a man devoid of knowledge results in foolishness.
8. Selecting strangers without scrutinizing, results in unending difficulties for generations.
9. Do not select any one without careful scrutiny; after selecting do not suspect him.
10. Selecting without scrutinizing, and suspecting after selecting, bring about unending difficulties.

Chapter LII.
Executive Efficiency.

1. He who after examining the good and the bad chooses the former, is fit to administer
2. Adminstration should study carefully the factors that increase or drain away the wealth of the country.

3. It is evident that he who has got these four qualities,—love. knowledge, equanimity, (selfish) desirelessness—in abundance is well qualified.
4. Many who had been selected after a strict scrutiny have been found to change their conduct.
5. Affairs must be entrusted to executives of discernment rather than to men of good reputation.
6. Take into consideration the man, his (efficiency of) action, and the circumstances.
7. Entrust an affair to one after considering, the question "Can this man do this thing ?"
8. Once a man is assigned (a job) he must not be interfered with (paraphrase: Ministers with portfolios should be given freedom to formulate their lines of policy.)
9. Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth) will depart from the king who misunderstands the attachment of the efficient ministers to himself.
10. If the world is to go straightforward the king should examine his ministers daily, whether they are straightforward.

Chapter LIII.

Supporting Kinsmen.

1. Even when wealth (and power) are lost, relatives will hold on to old ties of kinship.
2. Kinsmen's unchanging love yields unending prosperity.
3. Like a lake that has no bank is the life of a man who has no fellowship.
4. Living in such a way as to be surrounded by kinsmen is the benefit of acquiring wealth.
5. The use of gifts and sweet words brings around kinsmen and *their* kinsmen.
6. No one has as many friends as he who does give generously and does not get angry.
7. Without making a secret of it, crows (when they devour food)

croak aloud (so that other crows may come and share). Likewise should wealth be (shared).

8. A king grants favours-not equally-but according to merit. So people esteem his favour.
9. If there is no cause for (rupture) that relative who renounces his kinship, will return and seek it again.
10. If a man leaves his king, and afterwards returns with (selfish) reasons, let the king generously accept him.

Chapter LIV.

Forgetting not (to do one's duty).

1. Forgetting (to do one's duty) on account of joyous elation is worse than losing control on account of temper.
2. Just as dire poverty dulls knowledge, even so forgetting (to do one's duty) wipes out one's fame.
3. According to any school of ethics he who forgets forfeits fame.
4. There is no fortress (as a refuge) for a coward and there is no wealth for one who forgets.
5. The memory of the blunder of not having taken preventive measures tortures.

   (cf. "Of all the sad words of tongue or pen
   The saddest are these 'It might have been' ").
6. Telling uncompromisingly (the truth) to every one at all times is an incomparable asset.
7. There is hardly anything impossible for one who does not forget (what he should do).
8. Praiseworthy deeds must be cheerfully undertaken. He who forgets this will not have (joy) for seven births.
9. While they are joyous, let the kings remember those who on account of forgetting (to do their duty) lost their happiness.
10. Intended goals can be easily reached, if they are (always) kept in mind (that is, not forgotten).

NOTICE

Our procedure with respect to renewals may be explained for the mutual benefit of magazine and subscriber.

1. India Subscription

Subscriptions to addresses in India are automatically renewed unless the reader informs us in advance. The renewal is sent V.P.P., after first having sent the subscriber a printed notice to expect the same. Some subscribers, on receiving the expiration notice send us their subscription fees by Money Order which is appreciated by us and saves V.P.P. charges. But the time factor sometimes creates confusion. The subscriber may send his subscription to us about the same time we are mailing out the current issue, so that the two cross in the mails. On the one hand, we receive the Money Order, and on the other hand the subscriber receives the V.P.P. Some subscribers have thus paid twice, and we are sorry for this inconvenience to them. In this case, we enter their subscription for two years. Others have refused the V.P.P. because of having sent their Money Order, which is proper to do. It would seem, therefore, that the best way to avoid this inadvertency would be for the subscriber to send his Money Order (if that be his wish) very soon after receiving the expiration notice If he be willing to receive the V.P.P. he should not send us a Money Order.

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These are automatically renewed unless the reader informs us in advance. We mail the expiration notice early, and then send a bill with the first issue of the new annual subscripton. Both come by sea mail which takes considerable time (about six weeks). Here again communications cross in the mails. A subscriber in Europe sent us a subscription for three years in advance and later received our bill for one year's subscription. Each of us wrote to the other at about the same date. In such a case the European subscriber should ignore the bill. The same is true for our subscribers in South America and in North America. Kindly recognize the time factor and understand that a bill received from us may not necessarily mean that we have failed to receive and record your welcome renewal in the meantime.

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Statement about ownership and other partculars about newspaper India Cultures Quarterly to be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February.

FORM IV

1.	Place of Publication	Jabalpur M.P.
2.	Periodicity of its pubilication	Quarterly
3.	Printer's name Nationality Address	Dr. R.D. Immanuel Indian Leonard Theological College Jbp.
4.	Publisher's name Nationality Address	Dr. D.R. Immanuel Indian Leonard Theological College Jbp.
5.	Editor's name Nationality Address	Dr. R.D. Immanuel Indian Leonard Theological College Jbp.
6.	Name and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners and shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital	Non—Profit project. Dr. D.R. Immanuel owner/

I, R.D. Immanuel hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief/

Sd/- R. D. Immanuel

March 15, 1961. Signature of the Publisher.

Printed by : Dr. R.D. Immanuel, at Edward Printing Press, Cantt., Jabalpur